

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 453

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, GR

SUBJECT: GREECE POLICIES TOWARD CYPRUS

REF: ATHENS 1560 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: PERHAPS WE SHOULD TELL GOGREECE THAT PURSUIT OF ANTI-COMMUNIST POLICY IN CYPRUS COULD GET THEM INTO PROBLEMS PAPADOPOULOS FACED IN 1972, WITH ADDITIONAL DANGER TURKISH INVOLVEMENT. END SUMMARY

1. PRINCIPAL PROBLEM WE HAVE WITH REFTEL IS THAT, INSOFAR AS IT REFLECTS CURRENT GREEK MILITARY THINKING ON CYPRUS, IT POINTS PRECISELY TO DEAD END WHICH PAPADOPOULOS EXPLORED TO HIS OWN REGRET IN 1972.

2. LEFTISTS IN CYPRUS ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT GOGREECE ANTI-COMMUNISM, WHICH THEY TAKE FOR GRANTED, BUT RATHER ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT GOGREECE INTENDS TO TRY TO APPLY THAT ANTI-CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMUNISM IN CYPRUS. EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THEY MAY HAVE REASON FOR

CONCERN.

3. SUGGESTION THAT MAKARIOS SHOULD CONTROL THE LEFT FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT MAKARIOS, BY ATHENS' DEFINITION, IS HIMSELF LEFTIST AND THAT SUPPORT FROM THE LEFT, INCLUDING COMMUNISTS, IS A BASIC ELEMENT OF HIS POWER POSITION HERE.

4. SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, GOGREECE HAS EVEN LESS POWER BASE HERE THAN IT DID IN 1972 TO TRY TO FORCE MAKARIOS' HAND. CONTRARY TO ASSUMPTION REFTEL, MAKARIOS NO LONGER DEPENDS UPON PRIVATE PARAMILITARY GROUPS TO HANDLE EOKA-B. HIS TACTICAL RESERVE POLICE FAR OUTGUNS REMNANTS OF EOKA-B, FROM BEST WE CAN LEARN. MOREOVER, GREEK CYPRIOT "RIGHT-WING" FORCES REMAIN DIVIDED, AND NO RIGHTIST POLITICAL LEADER HAS RISEN TO CHALLENGE MAKARIOS IN HIS PURSUIT OF CONSENSUS POLICY WITH THE LEFT. THEREFORE, PRACTICAL CHOICE FOR GOG IF IT WISHES TO INTERVENE IN FAVOR EOKA-B IS MAJOR AUGMENTATION IN MEN AND MATERIAL, PLUS CREATION EFFECTIVE POLITICAL APPARATUS TO ENABLE THE RIGHT TO SUSTAIN SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO GOCYPRUS. (EOKA-B PRESENTLY HAS CAPABILITY FOR ISOLATED TERRORISM, INCLUDING ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON MAKARIOS.)

5. WE ASSUME (SEE ASSESSMENT NICOSIA A-26) THAT RESULT OF SUCH GREEK EFFORT, PARTICULARLY IF LAUNCHED WITHOUT CO-ORDINATION WITH TURKEY AND IN PRESENT STATE OF ANKARA/ATHENS SUSPICIONS, WOULD BE TO PRECIPITATE CONFRONTATION WITH TURKEY, WITH NO ASSURANCE IT WOULD ASSURE DESTRUCTION OF LEFTISTS ON ISLAND. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR TURKISH AMB'S COMMENTS THIS SUBJECT.) WE ALSO ASSUME THAT, WHETHER OR NOT ANNOYED BY MAKARIOS' LEFTIST TENDENCIES, GREEK JUNTA'S OWN INTEREST WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE SERVED BY EFFORT TO SUBSTITUTE AN ANTI-COMMUNIST POLICY FOR PRESENT PURSUIT OF INTERCOMMUNAL SETTLEMENT.

6. WE THINK IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO CALL GREEK LEADERS' ATTENTION TO THIS LINE OF REASONING AND TO THE UNPRODUCTIVE 1972 PARALLEL, WHERE APPROPRIATE.

7. INCIDENTALLY, WE AGREE WITH REFTEL THAT, PARTICULARLY
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WITH GUNES' RECENT STATEMENT ON A FEDERAL SOLUTION FOR CYPRUS, ATHENS AND ANKARA SEEM TO HAVE AMPLE CAUSE FOR MUTUAL SUSPICIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT THE ROLE OF CYPRUS COULD WELL BE REVERSED, AND CYPRUS EVENTS COULD BE RESULT RATHER THAN CAUSE OF BROADER PROBLEMS IN ANKARA/ATHENS RELATIONS.

8. FOR THE RECORD, WE NOTE THAT DENKTASH APPARENTLY WAS NOT SO CATEGORICAL RE THREAT OF TURKISH TROOP INTERVENTION

(REFTEL, PARA 4), AS LATER GREEK AND TURKISH PRESS INDICATED
(REF FBIS 131859). "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG" "FAZ")
TEXT JUXTAPOSES REPORTER'S VERSION OF WHAT DENKTASH SAID WITH
INFERENCE FROM RATHER CAUTIOUS REFERENCES BY DENKTASH:
"FROM THE OPPOSITE COAST...WHERE A POWERFUL LANDING
FORCE IS HELD READY, TURKEY IS AT ANY TIME IN THE
POSITION TO OCCUPY CYPRUS IN SUPPORT OF THE ISLAMIC
MINORITY AND WITH THE GOAL OF DIVIDING UP THE ISLAND.
CLEARLY SUCH AN ACTION, WHICH MOVES EVER CLOSER
IN VIEW OF THE ALREADY THREATENING COLLAPSE OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE LASTED SINCE
1968, CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED BY A CHANGE IN THE POSITION
OF THE ATHENS REGIME. IN A TALK WITH THE 'FAZ',
RAUF DENKTASH REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH
AN ESCALATION WITH CAUTIOUS CIRCUMLOCUTIONS...."
TURK CYPRIOTS IN ANY EVENT HAVE REMAINED TOTALLY SILENT ON
DENKTASH REMARKS, IN WHATEVER LANGUAGE RENDERED.
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